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DELIVERED AT THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION,

IN

J A F F R E Y ,

AUGUST 20, 1873.

BY JOEL PARKER.

WINCHENDON:

PRINTED BY F. W. WARD & CO.

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A D D R E S S .

FELLOW CITIZENS, FRIENDS; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—
Some threescore years since, a favorite piece for declamation by
the junior school-boys commenced with this couplet:

“ You’d scarce expect one of my age.
To speak in public on the stage.”

When I received the invitation of the Committee of Arrangements, to deliver an Address, at the close of a century, more than three-quarters of which I represent, so far as years are concerned, in my own person, I was forcibly reminded of this school-boy exercise, and strongly tempted, reversing its significance, to make it the basis of my reply.

But the after-thought was, that upon such occasions, reminiscences are generally acceptable, even if they are trivial, and that, perhaps, urged by such a complimentary requisition, I owed it to the Town of my birth, to waive my claim to exemption, make my “last appearance” on this occasion, and tell what I know, little though it may be, of its early history.

Little enough it is, in fact, for the years of my early youth were passed in the remote seclusion of the Northeastern corner of the township,—and with only a few intervening years in the centre, my personal knowledge respecting its people, and its affairs, has been only through occasional visits.

If, “sixty years since” I had had even a remote suspicion, that I might stand here today, to discourse respecting the first

inhabitancy of this town, and its incorporation, I would have come to you this morning with a portfolio full of notations respecting its ancient history. Having no such premonition, many of the incidents of its early days have escaped from my grasp,—and the sources from which alone information respecting them could have been derived are gone forever. The Century which is commemorated has, in the course of nature, carried away the Fathers who saw the inception of the settlement here, with those who immediately followed and were conversant with things done and transacted within its borders.

Even in regard to a much later date; a few only of that period seem to stand, somewhat like the servants of Job, who came from different quarters and said, one after another,—“I alone am escaped to tell thee;”—and doubtful upon whom I should charge the *duty* of having greater knowledge than I *ought* to have respecting the first half of the century, and thereby release myself from the conscription, by presenting a substitute, my conclusion, at last, led me, in obedience to the requisition, to come before you at the present time, and ask your indulgence for the deficiencies which you will perceive in what I have to offer for your acceptance.

The great antiquity of the Township where we are assembled does not admit of a doubt.

It seems to be the better opinion, that in the creation of the world, granite was first formed. We are assured that granite appears to be the fundamental rock of the earth's crust, and that “wherever we reach the base of the stratified rocks, we find them resting upon granite.”

This being so, it follows that New Hampshire is entitled to the credit of being part of the earliest creation. And that Jaffrey had a larger interest in that creation than any of her neighbors, is shown by the fact, that on the subsequent partition, the larger portion of the Monadnock was assigned to her.

It is one of the jests about Father Sprague, as he was called, long the minister of Dublin, that discoursing one day upon faith, and quoting the passage of Scripture respecting its power

to remove mountains, he turned his eye, through the window, to the mass of granite in full view, and expressed a doubt whether that applied to the Monadnock.

If there have been any very great changes in the structure of the earth here, since the period of creation, they are not chronicled. The Monadnock exhibits no evidence of disturbance, by faith, or by volcanic influences. The only fires have been upon its exterior surface. At the settlement of the Township it must have been covered, nearly to its summit, with a dense forest. Some of my earliest recollections are of fires on its sides, which furnished pillars of smoke by day, and of fire by night, sufficient to have guided the children of Israel, if their path to the promised land had lain in this vicinity. These fires left a tangled windfall, and a "bald rock," as it was called, at the top,—which was perhaps bare before that time. Possibly they are responsible, in some measure, for my inability to hunt up a respectable bear story, as a part of the minor history of the town.

But if the mountain has not changed its local habitation, the town has its geologic and historic problem, of a different character, in the meadow lying just east of this village. Some twenty years since, in one of my occasional visits to Jaffrey, I found Dr. Fox engaged in removing large pine stumps, with roots of great size and length, from his portion of the meadow, on the westerly side, and he showed me, at the distance of a rod or two from the upland, small pieces of wood bearing evidence of having been cut by the beavers, and supposed to be parts of a beaver dam, taken from a depth of some five feet below the surface. There were sticks of yellow birch and of alder about three or four inches in diameter, cut at the ends by a grooved instrument.

It was not surprising that the beavers should have had a habitation in that vicinity. In fact, recent inquiries show that this town must have been a favorite locality with them. But it was a mystery how, in the present conformation of the land, there could have been a beaver dam in that spot.

Recently it was determined to have a further examination, and it was soon ascertained that there had been a beaver dam at the outlet of the meadow, on the Southeast, near Mr. Cutter's

tannery,—in the place which any sagacious beaver' might have designated for a dam,—and the conclusion was readily reached, that what had been discovered by Dr. Fox was the remains of a beaver's cabin, on the Westerly shore of the pond which must have been formed by this dam. And so it proved. Selecting a spot a short distance from that opened by Dr. Fox, we struck another cabin, shown clearly to be such, by finding the beaver's bed, composed of small twigs, leaves and grass, well constructed in layers,—the general color being of a light orange when taken out, but becoming dark very soon, on exposure to the air. Many of the leaves were of perfect form, so that the kinds could be distinguished; and a small beech-nut was found between the sheets, probably not stowed away for use but taken up with the leaves in forming the bed.

All mystery about the formation of a beaver dam was solved, but there was a marvel remaining. The beaver's bed was about seven feet below the surface, and when made must have been in a dry position, and above the surface of a pond. By what process of accretion had this pond been filled, and some seven feet of mud deposited above the bed? On testing the depth of the mud with a pole, it was found to be about thirteen feet. In the centre of the meadow it must be much more.

The surrounding hills, at the present time, do not give evidence that great aid in filling could have been derived from them,—indicating that the basin must have filled itself, to a great extent, from its own resources. Sufficient material must perhaps have been washed in for the commencement of the process.

Dr. Fox states, that in clearing his meadow of these stumps and roots, he dug down into the mud in some places to the depth of ten feet; and that he found three tiers of large pine stumps, perhaps none directly over the others, but on three different levels,—one at the surface, the second about a foot below the bottom roots of the first, and the third about the same distance below the second, bringing the third about on the level with the beaver's cabin.—The trees were very large pines, generally three or four feet in diameter, and similar in the several tiers.

This statement is supplemented by Benjamin Cutter, Esq., who says, that in clearing his part of the meadow, he dug cross ditches,— and that at the intersection he found three large stumps in a perpendicular line,— the upper one directly above the other two,— the two upper of pines, one to two feet in diameter,— the lower apparently of birch and about one foot,— and that there were pine stumps at the surface, near, or quite, four feet in diameter, within, probably, ten rods.

That trees grow and decay is no marvel. But three successive generations of them, so to speak, situated on the same spot, and attaining this gigantic size, and on such a wet soil, formed to a great extent by their own decay, are not often seen or heard of,— never before to my knowledge.

Centuries seem to be comprised in this problem. Pine trees four feet in diameter do not grow in a short period, and when grown it requires some time to resolve them by a natural process of decay, into good meadow mud, capable of sustaining another like growth.

I can hardly assign less than five hundred years, perhaps it may be a thousand,— as a time when this beaver's cabin was erected and his bed made. How much longer, and how many tiers of pine trees there may have been below those discovered is not very material.

If any one is disposed to cavil about the exact period, I have no objection to discount a century or so; but I cannot consent to give up any of the stumps, because as they stand, or rather stood,— the town may stump all the towns in the region round about, to show anything bigger, of that description.

It needs not that I should say to you, that it was persevering industry and diligent hard labor which subdued the forest here, and converted so large a portion of the township into reasonably fertile fields.

It must be admitted that the surface is somewhat uneven.— I should be unwilling to apply the term *rough* to the township, or to any body or thing connected with it.— And there are some stones scattered here and there, notwithstanding the “heaps of

'em" piled up in the fields, in times past, by the boys, somewhat to their disgust when they wanted to "go a fishing."

But this is a world of compensations. Pure air, pure water, and good drainage, are conducive to good health, and good morals; and it is but just to say, that this is a place where a man, under ordinary circumstances, may expect to "live out half his days," and even something more, if careful about his habits.

A party to ascend the Monadnock, after "haying time," was one of the recreations many years since;—but who could then imagine, that our beloved Town, with its uneven surface, would become a celebrated resort for the seekers after health, and for the lovers of quiet and of the picturesque, and that the writers of prose, and eke of poetry, would come hither, not merely to get a larger view of the world than they ever had before, but to make it a dwelling, and a habitation, and a shelter against the heats of summer, and perhaps the storms of adverse fortune.*

Respecting the minor incidents of the early history of the town, little can now be known, for the reasons suggested.

It is said that there were settlers here prior to seventeen hundred and forty-nine. If so, they were occupants without even color of title, and doubtless did not remain.

If we desire to derive a title otherwise than from the original granite, we may trace it through the Right in the Crown of Great Britain by Discovery.—The grant of King James I, to the Council of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, in England.—The grant of that corporation to Capt. John Mason.—A devise by him to his grandson Robert Tufton, who took the name of Mason.—Thence as an entailed estate, through several descents to his great-grandson John Tufton Mason,—and after a recovery his conveyance in 1746, to Theodore Atkinson and

*I note, however, that the inducements to the traveller to "stop over," may not, within the law, be in all respects quite as numerous as those held out by a poetical landlord, who kept a tavern north of Keene village, some three-quarters of a century since. They ran in this wise:

"Why will ye pass by, both hungry and dry,
Good brandy, good gin, please to walk in,
Good baiting, good bedding,
Your humble servant, Thomas Redding."

eleven other persons, who afterwards became known as "the Masonian Proprietors."

Acting under a vote of these Masonian Proprietors, passed June 16, 1749, Joseph Blanchard, of Dunstable, as their agent, on the thirtieth of November of that year, conveyed to Jonathan Hubbard and thirty-nine others, all the Right, Possession and Property of the Proprietors, to this township, then called the Middle Monadnock, or Number Two,—several of the grantees taking more than one share, the number of shares being in fact fifty.* The deed contained a provision by which the land should be divided into seventy-one shares, three shares being "granted and appropriated, free of all charge, one for the first settled minister," "one for the support of the ministry, and one for the school there forever,"† the grantors reserving for themselves eighteen shares, acquitted from all duty and charge until improved. And it was provided that each share contain three lots, equitably coupled together, and drawn for, at or before the first of July next, in some equitable manner.

One of the provisions of the deed was that each of the grantees should, at the executing of the instrument, pay twenty pounds old tenor, to defray the necessary charges arisen and arising in said township.‡

*See Appendix A.

†Grants of townships by the Governor and Council outside of the limits of the Masonian Proprietors, sometimes contained provisions giving shares to the Church of England, and to the society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with a large share for his Excellency personally.

‡The actual amount to be paid was but a small proportion of the nominal sum thus set down:—the old tenor being a paper currency issued long before by the Province, which, not having been redeemed according to its tenor, had greatly depreciated. Massachusetts had three emissions of paper currency, which became known as old tenor, middle tenor, and new tenor. The old tenor had depreciated in 1753, so that twenty shillings of it were worth only two shillings eight pence lawful money. It may be safely inferred that the currency of New Hampshire was not better. Probably it was worse. Belknap, speaking of a controversy between Governor Benning Wentworth and the Assembly, in 1749, respecting the representation of the towns, says:—"The effect of this controversy was injurious to the governor, as well as to the people. The public bills of credit had depreciated since this administration began, in the ratio of thirty to fifty-six, and the value of the governor's salary had declined in the same proportion."

There are conditions respecting clearing, building, and settlement, to be performed within certain specified times, by the several grantees,—a condition that a good convenient meeting-house should be built, as near the centre as might be with convenience, within six years from date, and ten acres of land reserved for public use:—another, that the grantees, or their assignees, by a major vote, in public meeting, should grant and assess such further sums as they should think necessary for carrying forward the settlement,—with a provision for the sale of so much of any delinquent's right as should be necessary for the payment of a tax, by a committee appointed for that purpose;—and a further provision that if any of the grantees should neglect or refuse to perform any of the articles, he should forfeit his share and right to those of the grantees who should have complied on their part,—with power to enter upon the right of the delinquent owner, and oust him, provided they should perform his duty as he should have done, within a year.

There were provisions by which the grantors undertook to defend the title, to a certain extent.

We are interested in these conditions and provisions only as matters of history, serving to show the measures taken by the Masonian Proprietors to secure the settlement of the townships which they granted, this among others.

It seems probable that none of the conditions were strictly complied with. They could not well be at that time. But so long as there were attempts, in good faith, to make settlements, it was not for the interest of the grantors to enforce forfeitures. Their shares became more valuable as the others were improved, and the enforcement of forfeitures, when there were attempts to perform, would have injured themselves.

I have procured from the Clerk of the Masonian Proprietors, copies of the documents on file in his office relating to this Township. A few items may perhaps be acceptable.

The grantees held a meeting at Dunstable, January 16, 1749-50, at which a vote was passed that each right be laid out into three lots, and to couple them fit for drawing, to be done by the last day of May; and that twenty pounds old tenor be raised to

be raised to each right, to defray charges incidental thereto.

A plan of the township, seven miles long by five broad, laid out into ten ranges, and twenty-two lots one hundred rods wide to each range, was finished in May, 1750.

The meeting in January was adjourned to the first Tuesday in June, when it was again adjourned to the second Tuesday, at which time the lots were drawn.

It is probable that some of the grantees abandoned their rights, as six shares were sold at this meeting, and the money ordered to be deposited with the Treasurer, to be paid "to the first five men that goes on with their families in one year from this date, and continues there for the space of one year."

There was a vote also for a Committee to lay out a road from another Number Two (Wilton) through Peterboro' Slip, to this township.*

The meeting was then adjourned to November 8th, at which time a vote was passed prescribing the method of calling future meetings,—the provision for notice being the posting of notices at Dunstable, Lunenberg and Hollis. A further vote appointed Joseph Blanchard, Benjamin Bellows, and Captain Peter Powers, "a Committee to manage the Prudentials for this Society."

These last votes give us a clue to the residences of some of the grantees. They of course belonged to the towns where notices were to be posted. Captain Peter Powers, who was the grantee of four shares, and the purchaser of four of the six sold at auction at the first meeting,—and who was one of the Committee to manage the Prudentials,—must have been the first settler of Hollis, in 1731;—one of the soldiers under the celebrated Capt. John Lovewell, who fell in the Indian fight at Pig-wackett, in 1725.

At a meeting of the grantees August 4, 1752, a formal vote was passed to accept the title with an acknowledgement that they

*NOTE.—Lyndeboro', including the Northerly part of Wilton, was laid out by Massachusetts under the claim of that Colony, and granted to certain persons, mostly belonging to Salem, in consideration of their sufferings in the expedition to Canada. The residue of what is Wilton was granted by the Masonian Proprietors, in 1749, and was called No. 2. Mason was called No. 1. Peterboro' Slip comprised the towns of Temple and Sharon. This gives us the general course of the road.

held it under the conditions, and limitations, and reservations ; — by some of which there should have been clearings before that time.

Copies of the deed executed by Blanchard, and of the plan ; and a list of the Proprietors, were filed in the office of the grantors September 4th, 1753.

It is stated that a settlement was attempted in 1753 by Richard Peabody, Moses Stickney and a few others, who remained but two or three years. The first native was a son of Moses Stickney, born in 1753.

The first permanent settlement was made in 1758, by John Grout and John Davidson.

There is in the files a paper containing, First, a list of settlers on the free lots to the number of nine families. Second, a list of settlers that abide constantly on settling rights, — total 22. Third, "some beginnings on settling rights," number 10. Also a memorandum, "no meeting-house built." This is certified as a true account of the settling rights "carefully examined and humbly submitted" by John Grout and Roger Gilmore. There is no date to it, nor any memorandum when it was received, but pinned to it is a paper signed John Gilmore and Roger Gilmore, dated March 10, 1769, addressed to "Gentlemen Grantors," setting forth, that they bought the right that was Paul March's, January, sixty-eight, and the improvements which they have made and intend, and concluding ; "Gentlemen, we beg the favor of you, as you are men of honor, that you will not hurt us in our interest, for we have done everything in our power to bring forward the settlement of this place."

Roger Gilmore is the only one of the earlier settlers that I am sure of having seen. He lived on the hill east of the tannery of John Cutter, — was a man of large frame, and dignified deportment, — was highly esteemed, and was much employed as Justice of the Peace, Surveyor and in town offices and affairs.

There is also on file, "an accompt of the settlements in Monadnock No. 2," certified by Enoch Hale, stating the names of the settlers on the several rights, and the number of the rights, (ten in all), appearing to be delinquent. It is without date, but was "Received March 8th, 1770," and was probably made up

within a short time previously. From this it appears that there were settlements on thirty-four rights; and twelve lots (additional as I understand,) improved; — and that mills were erected on Right 15, and a saw-mill on 41.

And here, near the close of its unincorporated existence, let us pay a deserved tribute to the enterprise and energy of the early settlers.

Struggling against obstacles that were all but insuperable, and through hardships which might well have daunted the most determined courage, they have, in a few years, brought the township largely above the average of the settlements in the County, and to a position exceeded only by towns of a longer existence, all of which had much greater facilities for access.

The particular obstacles which they encountered, and the details of the hardships which they endured, we cannot know. Of their personal deprivations and sufferings, we fail to form an adequate conception. It is difficult to gain even a general appreciation of them.

There are, it is true, only forty miles intervening between the head-quarters, if we may so call them, at Dunstable, but twenty or more of them are through a nearly trackless, dense forest, over a rough, rocky surface, with occasionally a small natural meadow.

The pioneers make their slow, painful way, much of it through the thick under-brush, — the husband with an axe on his shoulder, and what he can carry of household appendages in a pack on his back, and his wife follows, somewhat similarly loaded, except the axe. Cheap land, within the reach of their scanty means, has tempted them to endurance. There may be a young man with them. God be thanked we do not see any young children. Weary, worn in spirit, as well as in body, they reach the range and lot of their destination, and their first shelter is constructed of hemlock boughs, with the same material for a bedstead, and leaves for a mattress.

A rude log hut follows.* And then comes the hard struggle with the forest, and with privation,— with the winter, its deep snows, and its intense cold. There is no communication with the outward world but by “rackets,” (snow-shoes), and pioneers of longer duration are in other towns, miles away. It is not necessary to put wild beasts into this picture.

Is it wonderful that the settlers of '53 found this too great an endurance, even for their brave hearts, and strong arms, and that they abandoned the settlement, when remaining threatened their lives? Or rather is it not wonderful that they lived to abandon it? Surely it was not light difficulties which would deter persons who had the courage to begin such a work, from the prosecution of their purpose.

But there is another attempt at settlement made under more favorable auspices.

We may suppose that the few pounds voted to be raised to make a road from No. 2 have been expended. The underbrush and some of the stones are cleared away, and trees are blazed along the route; and another small party of settlers start, with oxen, not in yokes, but single file, with such loads as they can carry strapped upon their backs. And there is a cow there. The small patches of natural meadow furnish food for the animals, and the emigrants arrive with better means of establishing themselves.— The trees fall,— the logs are drawn, piled, burnt, — a small space is cleared,— a shelter is built,— seed is sown, and the vegetation, anxiously watched and tended, gives a scanty crop. But sickness comes. Exposure has produced its natural result;— fever is in the household. There is no physician. The medicines are the few simple remedies brought in the luggage. Acts of neighborly kindness would be cheerfully rend-

*The log hut must have been an institution of short duration. So far as I have heard, there is little tradition of log houses in the town. A grist and saw mill were erected in Peterboro' as early as 1751. Another saw mill near the place of the South Factory, in 1758. Rev. John H. Morison, in his very interesting Address at the Centennial Celebration in Peterboro', says: “at this period [1770] log huts were little used. Substantial frame houses, many of them two stories high, had been erected.” And we have seen, from the return of 1770, that there were then two saw mills here.

ered, if there were near neighbors, but are of difficult procurement in this forest of "magnificent distances," and all the hours of attendance by the sick bed are so much time withdrawn from what would otherwise have been essentially necessary for labor and for rest.—Alas! the kindest care, the unslumbering watch, and the fervent prayer, are unavailing, and the sufferer, no longer such, is laid to final rest in some quiet corner of "the clearing."

Out of this darkness comes a brighter dawn. Lumber can be had. The mills are miles distant, to be sure, and the transportation difficult, but perseverance overcomes obstacles. "The road" has been improved.—There is a horse upon the path.—The rider has a young child in her lap, and one somewhat older sits behind.—Her husband drives "the stock." The way is not so toilsome,—there are more articles of housekeeping in the luggage,—more of encouragement, more of hope, more of fruition, more of happiness.

We have reached 1770, and there are several families here. The settlement is established on a firm basis.

Let us never fail to do justice to the pioneers, men and women, who with such resolute courage, fortitude, patience and perseverance, established a civilized society in the midst of a trackless wilderness.

We should do ourselves a great wrong, if we did not express our deep admiration of them.

In 1771, the Province was divided into Counties. Prior to this time all the public offices were in Portsmouth or the vicinity, and the Courts were held there.

In an Act for making a new proportion of public taxes, passed May 28, 1773, which included unincorporated places, Monadnock No. 2 is set down at £3-5s in the £1000. The proportion for Cheshire County, which until 1827, included what is now Sullivan County, was £117-8s. There were twelve towns in the County rated higher than Jaffrey, and seventeen towns and places at less. This proportion of the taxation serves to show, in some measure, its relative importance, at that time.

The Masonian Proprietors had and claimed only a right of property. Their title to the land passed by the deed authorized by them, as a deed passes the title to land at the present day; but there was no right of town government granted. The provision for taxing the shares, and collecting the tax, could only be made effectual through the laws of the Province. The jurisdiction was in the Governor and Council, and the Assembly.

The grantees of the lands acted like a corporation for the division and disposition of their lands, and the performance of their duties as a Proprietary, but for nothing beyond. When those things were accomplished, the Proprietary was at an end, — dissolved. And this was true also of the townships granted by the Governor, outside of the limits of the Masonian lines, unless incorporated.

There was no provision in the general laws by which an assessment could be made upon the inhabitants of unincorporated places, for which reason the Act apportioning the public taxes, in 1773, contained a provision appointing persons, who were named, to call meetings of the inhabitants of such places, and requiring the inhabitants at such meetings to choose the necessary officers for assessing and collecting the tax, and giving authority for that purpose.

And so the time had come when the interests of the people required corporate powers, of a general character, and on the 17th of August, 1773, an Act of Incorporation was granted, nominally by His Majesty, George III, but in fact by the Royal Governor, John Wentworth, with advice of the Council,— the corporate name being found in the name of one of the Masonian Proprietors, who was then Secretary; and *Jaffrey* was installed into the great brotherhood of political and municipal incorporations, called Towns; which have been of such incalculable benefit not only to New England, where they originated, and of which they are the glory and the pride, but through it to the country at large.

The centuries of which we usually speak, date from the commencement of the christian era,— occasionally from the period

assigned by Biblical Theology as the time of the creation of the world.

But a century may have its beginning at any point of time. That of which we now witness the close had its inception with this incorporation. If the event be supposed to be one of comparative insignificance, it was one which has had a greater absolute force, for the promotion of the happiness of those persons inhabiting within the limits of the town, than any of the greater ones which have astonished the world.

If we should suspend, for a moment, the consideration of the local interests attached to this incorporation, and which entitle it to mark the commencement of a century, and its anniversary to a grateful recognition and celebration, and should turn our attention to the general history of the century which has followed, we should find that this century may challenge a comparison with any one which has preceded it, whatever date may be assigned for the commencement of the latter.

But we must not undertake the centennial history of the world to-day. On our recollection of it, however, we may surely be pardoned if we exclaim,—Great has been the century which had its commencement in the incorporation of the town of Jaffrey!

These incorporated towns had their origin in Plymouth, Duxbury, and Scituate, in the Plymouth Colony,—followed by Charlestown, Salem and Newton, (since Cambridge,) and Dorchester, in Massachusetts,—and by Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton, in this state.

It has been suggested that the Town Organization had its origin in the Congregational Church polity,—and in fact the organization of the church, in the earlier settlements of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, accompanied the organization of the town.

But the town grew mainly out of the secular need,—out of the democratic principle of self-government,—as is shown from the fact that changes in the modes and forms of worship, and in the different church organizations, have not affected the Townships, and the Towns;—Whereas Congregationalism had no existence outside of the portions of the country where these Town-

ships existed. Instead of creating Townships and Towns, it has not itself been created to any extent, where they have not existed. It cannot well exist without them. But they now exist in the Western country, where Congregationalism has as yet little foothold,—and but for them it would have been long since merged in Presbyterianism, which has been the prevailing form of orthodoxy in all parts of the country where these towns have been unknown.*

Considering the principles and objects of the emigrants, the town system may be said to have been a necessity, in the existing state of things, in the early settlement of this part of the country. It was the only organization by and through which the settlers could best provide for their wants, and have the full enjoyment of the liberty which they prized so highly;—and they devised it accordingly.

The early settlers of the Plymouth Colony discovered, that the grant of corporate powers to the small separate settlements, and the passage of general laws giving them such powers and privileges as would enable them to provide for their local needs, and subjecting them to the performance of such duties as might be required by the government of the whole Colony, was the best and fittest way for the transaction of the affairs of the different localities, and they so provided. — This conclusion was reached, not through any revelation which perfected the system at once, but by degrees, through their daily and yearly experience; and the system, inaugurated at Plymouth, commended itself to the Massachusetts Colony, so that it was adopted there at the outset.

The earliest settlements in this State were commenced in a slightly different manner, Portsmouth, Dover, and Hampton being towns, independent of each other, with separate powers of government, exercised by agreement, without any act of Incorporation. But when the government of the Colony of New Hampshire was organized, grants of townships were made and towns incorporated.

In this organization of towns, the settlements of New England differed from those of Virginia, and other Southern States,

*See Appendix B.

and to these towns, providing for local wants, and performing local duties, New England owes much of the prosperity, of which she has had a reasonable share to this day.

The early settlers in this place, like those of other towns, wanted religious teachers and institutions. This is shown, not merely by the character of mankind, the nature of society, and the particular character of the parties, but by the provisions in the grant of the township giving one share for the first settled Minister, and one for the support of the Ministry, and by the condition requiring that a good convenient meeting-house should be built near the centre within six years.

Whatever we may think respecting ourselves, at this later day, with our more dense population, and our enlarged means, we may well conclude, that at that period, it was for the benefit of the civil state, that the institutions of religion should be maintained through some organization having legal power to provide for the support of religious teachers. In fact the authority of the towns to provide for the settlement of ministers and their support, remained until 1819, although the efficiency of the law was much impaired, by religious divisions, at an earlier day. The clergyman had then no need to spend his summer in Europe, or the Adirondacks. His parish being the town,— his parochial visits furnished him with sufficient “muscular christianity” for all practical purposes.

They wanted schools, and of course they needed school-houses, — and for the erection of these, school districts. The inhabitants of the town, with a full understanding of the local needs of all portions of the town, could arrange these districts,— the people of the several districts could then determine the situation and the size of the house required, with regard to their accommodation, and pecuniary ability; — and the tax voted by the town for the support of schools, being divided in an equitable manner, could then be applied to the purposes of education, in these districts with the greatest possible efficiency.— The poor little school houses would not make a great show by the side of some modern structures,— but they did a work, perhaps quite as useful as if the seats had had cushions, and the desks had been of mahogany.

They wanted highways. This need of facilities for intercommunication, and for intercourse with other portions of the country, must have impressed itself upon them, by the inconveniences which they suffered, in a manner to assure an energetic use of their powers in this respect,—and the town incorporation, with its power to divide into districts for this purpose, and by the appropriation of money or labor, to be expended under surveyors interested to do a good work, soon rendered travel safe, and even convenient. The great rocks have disappeared, one after another, under the persevering application of the highway tax, until the “drives” have, as you know, become very attractive.

The then existing modes of travel and transportation did not require roads of the most perfect construction. Chaises had not been introduced. The light Dearborn wagon had not been invented. The single horse had no difficulty in picking his way, and by skilful “hawing and geeing,” the oxen and cart were enabled to avoid the more formidable obstructions. Personal transportation was mostly on horseback; but the cart was made the carryall when several persons were to be conveyed. The side-saddle furnished a healthful means of locomotion for the women, and when it became necessary to ride double, the pillion, no longer known alas, formed a very comfortable seat for the lady. As it was necessary in order to keep the seat properly, that she should pass her arm around the side of the gentleman, this was, in some cases, a very acceptable mode of transportation to the junior portion of the community.

No system of general legislation could provide for all these local wants and necessities, according to the exigencies of particular cases.

But the general laws enabled these small communities, acting as municipal corporations, to provide each for itself, in relation to these and other matters, according to its own views of what it needed, and what it could perform; it being premised that it had needs upon some subjects, to some extent, and *must* perform to that extent, at least,—with liberty to do more, which it usually did.—Thus it must raise a certain amount of money for the sup-

port of schools,—and might raise more if deemed expedient.

The powers and privileges which the towns possessed were not talents to be wrapped in a napkin, and buried in the earth, nor did the people belong the class of slothful and unfaithful servants who seek to escape from their duties.

There were other duties and rights attached to these incorporations. The duty of supplying the needs of the aged, and infirm, and incompetent, who were unable to supply themselves; so that want and destitution should be alleviated, and starvation unknown, was deemed a common duty of each community,—and could best be performed by these incorporations.

Through them, also, the inhabitants were primarily to enjoy such political rights as were conceded to the people in the days of the Province, and the more extended and exalted powers which were conferred by the acquisition of Independence, the organization of the State, and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.—All the rights of suffrage were to be exercised within the town incorporation, the electors being summoned thereto by its warrants for such purposes.—Again,—the meetings held for these purposes gave opportunity for the full consideration and discussion of the measures required for the public good, and for the expression of the opinions of the inhabitants respecting them. How many of the specifications of the Declaration of Independence originated in the Resolutions of the towns we cannot now know.—Although no trace may be left, we know that there must have been arguments for and against the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, when the Delegates were chosen to attend the Convention which ratified it by a small majority, proposing divers amendments,—most of which were adopted immediately afterwards. Some voted against the ratification, fearing that such amendments would not be made,—perhaps so instructed by their constituents.

Nothing could have been better adapted to the execution of all these purposes than these “little Democracies,” as De Tocqueville has called them.

The social privileges connected with the organization must not be overlooked. It made the inhabitants of the small tract of terri-

tory within its limits, a brotherhood,—promoting the welfare of each other and of the whole community, by the meeting-house, the school-house, and the highway,—and in these, and other ways, establishing good order, social intercourse, and a kindly feeling towards each other.

The Town was the efficient means which secured the prosperity of the household. The several families, farmers, mechanics, laborers, and professional persons, needed, for the development of their resources, and the greatest enjoyment of their privileges, something beyond their isolated households,—something beyond even the mutual support of each other in their various neighborhoods, and they found it in the Town. It enlarged, while it concentrated, their sympathies, formed and moulded their opinions, and gave expression to their united will. Lastly, the military company organizations were mostly within the Town,—two Communities sometimes uniting to furnish an extra article in this line. From these companies the ranks of the army have been recruited in time of war,—being liable to draft if necessary.

In the time of the Revolution, when the ordinary mode of supplying the army seemed likely to fail, requisitions were made upon the towns to furnish ammunition and provisions, and were promptly answered. They were often the storehouses of ammunition.

If any one who does not know, would seek an exemplification of the utility of the Town incorporations, let him look at Jaffrey today, and study her history.

An admirable result of the Town organization was, that the Revolution, which followed almost immediately upon the incorporation of this Town, did not place the country in a state of disintegration. The Town organization remained,—its efficiency necessarily somewhat impaired,—but the town officers, having been elected by the people, still retained their confidence and support. Such powers as could be exercised only in the name of the king, or under the royal authority, were at first suspended, and then abrogated; but the same powers were immediately exercised under the authority of the people; and the towns during all the time served to a great extent the purposes for which they were established.

A Revolutionary Convention, called by the Committee of Correspondence, in 1775, recommended that those who had been chosen into office in the usual manner should, as formerly, be considered the proper officers, and that the town, selectmen and other officers proceed in the usual manner in granting and collecting monies, &c., unless some particular direction was given ; —adding this significant paragraph :—

“ If any, inimical to their country, or inattentive to the ruin which must ensue upon a contrary conduct, should refuse, we trust that all the friends of the country will effectually strengthen the hands of the selectmen, constables and collectors.”

It is not supposed that any one here by his refusal rendered it necessary, even to hint at a resort to the peculiar strengthening plaster, thus indicated.

February 13, 1775, the town voted unanimously to visit Mr. Williams, of Keene,—a very extraordinary civility on the face of the vote. Williams was a lawyer, but the call on him was not for professional advice.—He was a tory, and this unusual demonstration had reference to that fact. The further proceedings in relation to the proposed visit are not of record.—It is a fair presumption that there was no tory in Jaffrey who might be visited with much less trouble.

No other system could have so well supplied civil government, under such circumstances.

It was more difficult to deal with matters of which the Courts of Justice had jurisdiction. The Courts, on recommendation of the Convention, adjourned.

Justices of the Peace could not well issue compulsory process under the royal authority, in the existing circumstances. The collection of debts by suits was suspended, and the natural consequences were, in one instance at least, exemplified here. In the files of the Convention of 1775, is a memorial, or representation, addressed to the “ Honorable Provincial Congress” signed by Jethro Bailey, William Turner and Roger Gilmore, Committee of Correspondence, setting forth that Benjamin Nutting of Peterboro’ Slip, so called, had entered a complaint to them against John Davis, Junior, of Jaffrey, that upon the second day

of October, instant, as he came to the house of John Eaton, on some business, he was assaulted by said Davis, and abused in the most "solem" manner, as appears by sundry evidences,—that notwithstanding Davis was notified to attend and hear the evidences examined, he refused,—that he had often been requested to settle the matter, but remained obstinate, and persisted in his villainy, with insolence.

The Committee enclosed the depositions and earnestly desired the Convention to take the matter into consideration, and either determine it between them, or invest the Committee with a proper authority to act, with instructions how to proceed in the case. It does not appear that any action was taken upon the subject.

On the fifth of January, 1776, a "Form or Plan of Civil Government" was adopted by a Convention, or Congress, which met for the purpose, under which the affairs of the towns were again transacted in legal form. The Form of Government was limited by its terms to continue "during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain," but served as a State Constitution for many years, and has been said to be the first State Constitution.

This caused no change in the organization of the Town, or in its proceedings, except that the latter were now conducted, once more, under what proved to be a sufficient legal authority.

A few items in relation to the increase of the population, and the rate of taxation, may serve to show the comparative progress with the other towns.

The Convention of 1775, ordered a survey to be made of the people in the several counties, for the purpose of determining the ratio of representation in the Assembly, from which it appears that Jaffrey had 351 inhabitants. Of thirty towns in the County, ten or eleven had a larger number. She had sixteen men in the army. This is a very strong delegation for such a small community, just organized,—larger than any of the towns not having more inhabitants. Keene had 756 inhabitants. Chesterfield, Westmoreland and Richmond a still greater number.

The Census, in 1790, gives Jaffrey a population of 1235. There were then only six towns in the County with a population greater than this, and these, with the exception of Keene, lay on the South border, or on the Connecticut River, and so were more easy of access. Keene had 1314 inhabitants.

In 1800 the population was 1341. Eleven towns had a larger population, mostly much more favorably situated. Keene had 1645.

By an Act of the Assembly in 1777, determining the proportion of each town for every £1000 of the State taxes, Jaffrey's proportion was £5-9s.-5d. There were nine towns in the County having a greater valuation,—that of Keene being £10-5s.-9d.,—twenty-two having less.

When, in 1780, a requisition was made for a hundred and twelve thousand weight of beef for the army, the proportion of Jaffrey was 7326 pounds; the proportion of Keene 11,309. The same year a new proportion of taxes gave Jaffrey £6-10s.-10d., Keene £10-1s.-11d.

Another proportion in 1789 shows a comparative increase, favorable to the prosperity of Jaffrey,—that is, supposing that the duty to pay a larger proportion of taxes indicates in fact a larger ability to perform the duty,—which probably is not always the case. Jaffrey is set at £7-12s.-5d., Keene £9-19s.-6d.

Another proportion in 1794 gave for Jaffrey £7-9s.-8d., Keene £9-14s.-6d. But in this year the valuation of Chesterfield, Walpole and Westmoreland, lying on the Connecticut River, each exceeded that of Keene.

It is not my purpose to refer in detail to the proceedings of the town, in the exercise of its rights and the performance of its duties. This is the special province of the future historian, and to him, whoever he may be, I remit it.

But a few brief notes, having reference to some of the subjects which have been mentioned, may find a place upon this occasion. The first meeting under the act of incorporation was for the choice of town officers only. It was called by Jonathan Stanley, specially authorized by the Charter, August 27, 1773, and was held September 14.

Another meeting was held September 28, to raise money for the building of roads, and the support of the Gospel.

April 26, 1774, it was voted to build a meeting-house; and July 6, to build one of larger dimensions,—to let the building at public vendue,—that it should be raised by the middle of June next, at the town's cost,—with several other votes on the subject.

It was voted in March 1775, that the Committee to build, provide all things necessary to raise the house at the cost of the town. But March 30, 1780, there was a vote to make allowance to Captain Henry Coffin for the barrel of rum which he paid for, to raise the meeting-house. The Captain it would seem, intervened patriotically, to supplement the deficiency of the provision made by the Committee, and waited a long time for reimbursement.

There is a tradition that the meeting-house was raised on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, and that the guns of that battle were heard here. But this must be a mistake. When the matter is examined, the probabilities are against it. It is hardly probable that guns fired at Charlestown could be heard here, with the New Ipswich hills and the forest intervening, even on a quiet day, when there was no meeting-house to raise. Moreover, the battle was on Saturday, which was as good a day for a battle as any other day, but would hardly be selected as the time to raise a meeting-house, lest there should be some work remaining which ought to be performed the next day.

The conclusion to be derived from the improbabilities is fortified by direct hear say evidence. I received a letter a few days since from Dr. Jeremiah Spofford, of Groveland, Mass., in which he says, "My father, Jeremiah Spofford, as a master carpenter, framed that church. He was employed to do it by Captain Samuel Adams, whose wife was his sister. Jacob Spofford and Joseph Haskell went up with him, to work on the frame. * * * My father often related, seventy years ago, that they raised the house, and that ending his job, they set out for home the next day, travelling "*ride and tie*," three men, with one horse to carry tools and ease the men in turn;—that coming down through

Townsend, in the forenoon, they heard the roar of cannon, which proved to be the cannon of Bunker Hill, and coming over the Westford Hills, in the evening, they saw the light of Charlestown burning. * * * * * Captain Adams was one of the contractors to build the house, and was a carpenter himself."

It may be objected that "unlucky" Friday, was as little likely as Saturday to be selected as the day to begin such a work. But the explanation seems easy. The town had voted to raise by the middle of June. The contract would naturally specify that as the time of performance. There would be a desire, and time enough, for compliance. The fifteenth of June was Thursday. If we suppose that to be the day selected, and that there was some unfinished work to be done on Friday, to complete the job, we shall have the carpenters on their homeward way on Saturday, in the localities in which Mr. Jeremiah Spofford placed them.

We may give up the tradition without a sigh. Neither the meeting-house, nor the battle will suffer by the loss of it.

There was some delay in settling a minister. Several candidates were hired. There was a vote that young men supply the pulpit; and some others indicating that the services of some of the candidates were not quite satisfactory. But June 1st, 1780, it was voted to hear Mr. Caleb Jewett more, if he can be obtained; and September 4th, a vote to concur with the church in giving him a call. Why he did not accept, does not appear.—Perhaps from the insufficiency of the salary offered. He was, I think, a graduate of Dartmouth, of 1776, a native of Newbury, Mass., and afterwards settled in Gorham, Maine.

In 1782, they settled the Rev. Laban Ainsworth, a native of Woodstock, Connecticut;—a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1778.

The first vote for a salary was for £70 "while he supplies the desk,"—which was afterwards changed to "while he remains the minister of the town." Choosing with deliberation, they are entitled to the credit of having abided by their determination.—Mr. Ainsworth lived to the age of more than a hundred years.—officiated without a colleague until 1832,—and remained as

the pastor of the church until his death, but his labors were discontinued a few years earlier. As many of you knew him well, I need not speak of his appearance or services. A withered right arm was probably the reason why he did not write his sermons. If, as has been said, he sometimes looked up his text on Sunday morning, after breakfast, the fact will serve to show his confidence in his powers of discussion.

The tales respecting the jokes, practical and otherwisc, passing between him and Father Sprague, are numerous, many of them probably fictitious. But there was, unquestionably, a sufficient encounter of wits to lay a good foundation for some of them.

In the infancy of such a settlement, the difficulties of establishing and maintaining a school or schools would necessarily be very great. If the means of support had been abundant, the facilities for the attendance of the scholars must have been quite limited.

The first appropriation of £8 was made April 13, 1775.

Soon we find votes for the division of the money, indicating schools in different parts of the township,—then a division into districts.

That the interests of education have received full support here, may be inferred from the fact, that twenty-four young men have graduated at the different colleges. Twenty of them at Dartmouth.

It is not surprising that they deemed expenditures upon the roads as of the first importance.—Will you think it strange when I say that they appropriated much larger sums for highways than they did for the support of the gospel and the schools? Will you be astonished that at their second meeting they voted £80, lawful money, to be worked out on the roads, and only £6 to procure preaching, and that this disparity increased so that April 13, 1775, when they voted £8 for the school, they again voted £6 for preaching, and £130 for the roads?

We must recollect that the efficiency of their maintenance of preaching depended upon their first mending their ways.

It may be said, that roads lay at the foundation of their property, spiritual, as well as temporal. Without roads the settlement could not succeed; and if that failed, the support of religious teaching, and the school failed with it. As the roads were made better, settlements were encouraged, the ability to support the institutions of religion was enlarged, and the appropriations were enlarged a'so.

It is with great regret that I refer again to my inability to give some better account respecting the earliest inhabitants.

Perhaps my recollections of a later date may possess some interest, and serve with those of others, to fill a page of local history.

In the early part of the present Christian century, there was clustered in the vicinity of the meeting-house, which then had no steeple, the house of Rev. Mr. Ainsworth at the Southeast corner of the Common,—Danforth's Tavern, where Cutter's Hotel now stands,—the store of Joseph Thorndike, Esq., and David Page's store, on the East side, Cragin's Saddlery Shop on the Northeast corner, and on the North a large pile of buildings belonging to Joseph Cutter, Esq., of which only the main dwelling-house now remains. He kept a tavern, and had very ample accommodations for his customers. He was, I think, much the largest landholder in the township, and had an ambition to settle each of his numerous sons on a farm, which he accomplished to a great extent. At the Southwest corner of the burying ground was a school-house. East of Danforth's Tavern was his blacksmith's shop, North of which was the dwelling-house of Capt. Samuel Adams.

Commencing at the Common, the road to the Northeast, leading to Peterboro', and to the Southeasterly part of Dublin, passed by a small house on the corner, at the left, no longer there,—which was occupied at one time by Mr. Cummings, afterwards by Dr. Johnson, and by Jonathan Lufkin,—there turning North the road extended, by the place where the Melville Academy now stands, less than a quarter of a mile, where it forked, the direct road proceeding Northerly towards Dublin, by the houses of Mr. Newton and Thomas French,—the Easterly fork, which

was the principal road, running over the hill by a house occupied by David Smiley, Esq., Attorney at Law.

This house has gone, and the road over the hill has gone with it. The more modern route, Northeast, by Mr. John Cutter's tannery, and Easterly of the meadow, entered this old road at the foot of the hill, on the East.

Nearly a mile East of the village was the house of Widow Bryant.

The road forked a few rods Easterly. On the Northerly branch, which branched again, lived Samuel Cary, Benjamin Lawrence, Deacon Jesse Maynard, Azael Gowing, Moses Stickney, Samuel Stickney, Silas Pierce, Jacob Jewell, Benj. Frost.

Proceeding a short distance, the Easterly branch appeared to run into a North and South road, but the Northerly part was the main road to the Northeast. A few rods to the South was the house of Alpheus Crosby. In front, that of Asa Sawyer.

Pursuing the main road, at a distance of about half a mile, on the right side,—was the house of Lieut. Thomas Adams, which has disappeared. Another was built near, on the left side, many years since, occupied by Daniel Emery. Not far beyond, at the place where a road now leads off to the East village, there came into this road from the West a short branch road on which lived Mr. Bates. At this point came another fork. On the Northerly branch which has been slightly changed at its commencement, a quarter of a mile brought the traveller to another fork, the Westerly road being merely a local branch, terminating at the house soon after owned by Samuel Pierce. On the Easterly or main branch, we came next to the school-house of the district of my early boyhood,—and in the field some quarter of a mile Southeast was the house of Ebenezer Burpee.

Miss Hitty Brooks was one of the teachers of the summer school, a most estimable young lady, whose kindness dwells in my memory. She afterwards married Samuel Pierce.

The old school-house has disappeared, and a few years more will carry all its memories with it. A few of its inmates at a later date still remain.

Starting once more upon our way, we find next where was the house of Whitcomb Powers, at the base of the hill, on the left. It is no longer there. There was none a little onward, where the residence of my late friend Levi Fisk, Esq., has stood for many years. On the Northerly branch of a fork of the road a few rods further running to Twitchell's mills, in the Easterly part of Dublin, was the house of his father Thomas Fisk. At the fork last mentioned was formerly the shop of John Pushee, of which nothing but the ruins remained so far back as I can recollect. I have the impression it had been burned.

Thence, pursuing the Easterly branch of the highway, next came the house of my father, who came here from Pepperell in May, 1780, settled in the unbroken forest, and cleared his farm himself, with such assistance as he could obtain. Some of you know the place. I am not aware of the particular inducement which led him to settle there. Probably a representation that it was a nice bit of land, dog cheap;—and cheapness was a consideration not to be despised.* It proved rough and rocky, and admitted of any amount of hard labor. Twenty-five years of patient, persevering industry had made a difference in the appearance of things. There were rods of stone wall, requiring some knowledge of the mysteries of compound addition, to say how many. There were cattle and sheep,—hay in the barn,—a patch of flax in the field;—and a little wheel, and a great wheel, and a great loom in the house.† The wood pile, would have deemed itself neglected if it had not extended a hundred feet, “more and not less,” along the wall, with an indefinite breadth, and a height which no one undertook to measure. The fire-place in the common working-room, received back logs two and a half feet in diameter. I am tempted to put on the other half foot, but refrain. From the great brick oven, by the side of fire place, there issued, from time to time, baked pump-

*Consideration 260 pounds, lawful money,—102 acres of land, part of lot 20 in the first range.

†Girls “hired themselves out” to spin. When the cloth was fulled and dressed, the tailoress of the neighborhood came, cut, and made up the clothes.—When the hides were tanned, the shoemaker, in his rounds, came once or twice in the year, and made up a stock of boots and shoes for the family, staying perhaps a week for the purpose.

kins, such as no cooking stove, invented or to be invented, can ever produce,— and there was no watering of the milk.

On winter evenings apples were roasting and sputtering upon the hearth,— and there was a mug of cider there. Checkers and jack-straws were seen occasionally, and some card teeth were set.

My brothers caught minks, and musquash, partridges and pickerel, rabbits and woodchucks,— and in haying time, I took up bumble bees' nests, getting poor pay for my labor.

In order to economise time, I give this brief sketch of a single household, instead of a more elaborate statement which I was preparing respecting farming life generally in the town;— and in the hope that the personality may be excused, in consideration of its brevity. Any one by pursuing things to their natural antecedents and conclusions, may judge somewhat of the whole from these few particulars. Exceptions of course.*

Half a mile onward was the house of the Widow Turner.— The widow relished a joke, and perhaps I may be pardoned for telling a short story, which she told herself. She had taken her grist to be ground at the mills of Samuel Twitchell, Esq., the father of the celebrated surgeon Dr. Amos Twitchell, just within the limits of Dublin, riding, of course, upon the top of the bags. The Squire who was somewhat of a humorist, had a hired man named White, certainly not beautiful to behold. The widow's description of what occurred further was in this wise:— “When I got there the Squire was in the yard, and I said to him, ‘help me off my horse, Squire;’ which he did. Then I said to him, ‘now kiss me Squire;’ and he turned and called ‘White, White, White;’ as if he was calling some great dog, and there came out of the mill the ugliest looking critter that ever I set

*The manufactures of cotton were those of the household, operated by hand power. Edmund Snow, of Peterboro', manufactured hand cards for cotton and wool, punching the holes in the leathers, and preparing the teeth and distributing them among the different families in the region round about, to be set by the young people, who in that way put “store pay” in their purse. At the Peterboro' Centennial in 1839, my brother Isaac gave some account of his achievements in setting these card teeth. Perhaps it was in this way that he was led to take an interest in the establishment of cotton manufacturies in Peterboro' and elsewhere.

my eyes on, and the Squire said, ‘Come here, White, and kiss this woman ;—I always keep a man to do that drudgery for me.’”

A short distance farther, at the extreme Northeast corner of the town, was Samuel Saunders; a very good carpenter as well as a farmer. Here the road turned short to the South, and passing the house of Elijah Wellman, connected near the line of Peterboro' with the Southerly branch, which was left soon after passing Licut. Adams's. A house has existed South of Wellman's, occupied by Andrew Holmes, but I think of a later date.

Turning back to the Southerly branch, and taking the direction to Peterboro', there was near the fork the house of Roger Brigham. Then came the house of David Sawtell, then Parker Maynard, then Samuel Patrick, then Mr. Snow.

Samuel Dakin, Esq., Attorney at Law, who afterwards removed to New Hartford, in the State of New York, purchased land North of Capt. Adams, in the middle of the town, and built the house now occupied by Dr. Fox, about 1805. My father, having bought a corner lot of Mr. Dakin, erected the house at the Northerly end of that street, and I became an inmate of the school-house at the corner of the burying ground. There is a reminiscence of discipline connected with this house. The rules of the school forbid whispering of course. Having a desire to say something to a young Miss who sat near me, I forgot the rule I suppose, and she must have joined in the transgression, for the eagle eye of the teacher, Miss Maria Blanchard, detecting this violation of order, we were forthwith sentenced to sit each with an arm around the other's neck. I do not give this as an instance of the ordinary discipline. On the contrary it was an unusual, as well as a cruel punishment, and may therefore be regarded as unconstitutional. But to prevent misapprehension, I have taken occasion to say, that I have since seen the time when I should have borne such a dispensation with a much greater degree of philosophy.*

*The school books were Webster's Spelling Book, with a grim frontispiece, supposed to represent that ambitious lexicographer, Webster's Third Part. American Preceptor, The Columbian Orator, Young Ladies' Accidence, Murray's Grammar, Morse's Geography, and Pike's Arithmetic.

Pursuing the road Northwesterly from the school-house, there was at the foot of the hill, a house occupied by Widow Hale, then one occupied by Hugh Gragg, and a few rods Westerly, at the junction of the old road running Westerly to Marlboro' and the road running Northerly to Dublin, there was in the corner, the house of Dr. Adonijah Howe the elder, the beloved physician. He afterwards built a much larger one just North, which you have known as occupied by Daniel Cutter. The place is now designated as the Shattuck Farm. Jonathan Gage lived off Northeast from this point, on a private road. A house has since been built, farther on the Dublin road, by Joel Cutter, and beyond this point was another fork,—the left hand, running towards the mountain, led to the houses of Joseph Cutter, junior, John Cutter, second, and Daniel Cutter who afterwards, occupied the house built by Dr. Howe.

All these were sons of Joseph Cutter, Esq. A Southerly branch turning off near Joseph Cutter, junior's, led to the houses of Joseph Mead, Mr. Brooks, David Cutter and Jacob Hammond.

The principal road, which turned to the right at the fork, led Northerly over the hill to a house owned by Joseph Thorndike, Esq., afterwards by John Conant, Esq., who has made himself widely and favorably known by his very liberal donations to divers public objects. It is now owned by the president of the day,—who speaks for himself.

The travel over the hill has since been diverted to the other branch, by a slight alteration,—in consequence of the modern discovery, (especially unknown to Turnpike proprietors in former days,) that in some cases it is no farther to go around a hill than it is to go over it, and that the larger load can be drawn on the level ground. Beyond, on the road to Dublin, were David Corey, Mr. Bullard and Mr. Johnson.

Of the other highways in the town, and the persons living upon them, my early recollections are of course less particular. I have a note of most of the inhabitants of the different sections, but for the location and even the names of many of them, I am indebted to Mr. Ethan Cutter, whose early opportunities for ac-

quiring a full knowledge of the different localites were of the best, and whose memory of them is of the same character. Were there no reason but lack of time, I must leave this part of the subject to others who may be heard today, craving indulgence for subjoining a few notes respecting the Third New Hampshire Turnpike.

This Turnpike was incorporated in December, 1799, running from Bellows Falls, Vermont, to Ashby, Mass., fifty miles, and cost, it was said, fifty thousand dollars. It occupied portions of the old road in various places,—near the mountain, near the middle of the town,—and eastward of it. It struck off from the old road at John Cutter's tannery, and at Spofford's mills, and run by Col. Benjamin Prescott's tavern, in the East part of the town, and through "Tophet swamp" into New Ipswich.

The three men just named were marked men in their day. Mr. John Cutter carried on a large tannery, for that time, and made it a profitable business, which has since been enlarged. His children were among my old school-mates, and I am pleased to see some of them with us today. With the exception of Joseph Cutter, Esq., he has probably more representatives in town than any other of his contemporaries.

Deacon Eleazer Spofford, who purchased of Mr. Borland, his farm and mills, in 1778, was a tall gentleman of a grave demeanor, pleasant smile, and a kind heart,—I think universally beloved. He led the singing for very many years. If he had an enemy in the world, that enemy must have been an unreasonable man. He lost a young son in the burning of Rev. Mr. Ainsworth's house, in 1786. His mills were complete for that day. In the grist mill was a 'jack,' which if it was not the progenitor, was the prototype, of the modern elevator in hotels and stores. It was worked by water power, to carry the wheat, as soon as ground, to the bolter in the attic. A ride on it, with his son Luke, then miller, afterwards clergyman, was a treat to the boys who brought wheat to be ground.*

*Dr. Spofford says "He had for many years the best flouring mills in that part of New Hampshire."

He removed to Bradford, Mass., now Groveland, in 1821, and died there in 1828.

A grandson of Deacon Spofford was Chief Justice of Louisiana at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, and another is now Librarian of the Congressional Library.

There must have been some controversy respecting the location of the turnpike. In a poetical New Year's Address, sent from Parnassus to New Ipswich, soon after, it was said that the muse could relate,—

“How Prescott and Merriam made a stand
And bent the road to suit their land.”

But she did not do it, and I can not.

Col. Prescott, as I remember him, was another of the tall men of Jaffrey,—of powerful frame,—and an influential man in the town. If any man could bend a turnpike, he might be expected to do it.

The principal taverns on the turnpike were those of Sweetser in Marlboro',—Milliken, Danforth and Prescott, in Jaffrey,—and Merriam and Batchelder in New Ipswich, celebrated houses in their day.

It was one of the principal thoroughfares from Central Vermont to Boston, and the transportation over it in the winter was, of course, quite large, as the route through Rindge was not then a great highway. This winter transportation was generally by two horse teams, attached to square lumber boxes, so called, loaded on the downward transit principally with pork, grain, beans, butter, cheese, and other country produce; and on their return trip with iron, molasses, rum, sugar, codfish, and other groceries. The dry goods of that day were principally of home manufacture.

Occasionally a severe storm, blocking the roads badly, would compel these teams to stop at the nearest of the taverns named, where the loggerhead was always in the fire in winter, and the landlord ready to make a “good stiff mug of flip.”

Some of my auditory may not have heard the name before. It was concocted of home made beer, well sweetened,—a suitable proportion of West India rum,—and heated by the loggerhead to a proper temperature. When an egg was beaten in, it was called “bellows top,” partly perhaps from its superior quality,

and partly from the greater quantity of white froth that swelled up on the top of it.

With ten or fifteen teamsters gathered together by one of these snow blockades, and a fair allowance of flip, of course “the mirth and fun grew fast and furious;”—and when the storm was over, and the road began to be “broken out” the long line of teams, especially those ascending the hills to the West, was something to see.

The mail stage between Keene and Boston, for a long time, run over this road,—once a week,—twice,—daily, except Sundays,—then a despatch line, called the telegraph,* through in twelve hours,—superseded by the Railroad through Fitchburg; so that the crack of the stage driver’s whip, and the blast of his horn, no longer echo among the hills.

The wayside inn, for the accommodation of the passing traveller, has fallen from its high estate, through the introduction of the railroads; and from the same cause, along with the introduction of other beverages, the institution of temperance societies, and the passage of prohibitory laws, the glory of Flip has departed, and its name is almost forgotten.

The turnpike was not a source of great profit, and was finally laid out as a common highway, the towns paying the proprietors a moderate sum in damages.

The beautiful and busy village of East Jaffrey, with its large cotton factory, and divers other manufactures, its hotel, stores, bank and dwellings, and with a railroad running through it, is comparatively of modern creation.

A short time since, I summed up my recollections of its people and business,—as I first knew it:—Dea. Spofford, and his mills,—Abner Spofford, and his blacksmith shop,—and Joseph Lincoln, and his clothier’s shop.—William Hodge and his farm constituted a Northern suburb.

I must not omit to mention Amos Fortune. He was born in Africa,—brought to this country as a slave,—purchased his free-

*This line was established by Col. French, then of Keene, now of Peterboro’; and Col. Shepherd, then of Boston, now of Manchester.

dom,—purchased and then married his wife,—came to this place in 1781,—and lived subsequently about a mile Northeast of Spofford's mills, where he had a small tannery.

At that time any person who had come to dwell within a town, and been there received and entertained by the space of three months, not having been warned to depart by some person appointed by the selectmen, was reputed an inhabitant, and the proper charge of the town in case he came to stand in need of relief. This power of “warning out” was given to the towns that they might protect themselves against pauperism; and in some towns the selectmen were so careful of the interests of the town, that they warned all new comers to depart,—so zealous, that in one instance, as I have heard, the town having settled a minister, the selectmen forthwith warned him out.

Such general warnings were not practiced in this town, but Fortune was warned out in Sept. 1781, doubtless from an apprehension that he might become a pauper. Like all other persons similarly notified, he disregarded the warning, and he lived here the remainder of his life. Dying in 1801, without children, at the age of ninety-one, as stated on his gravestone, (which, as I recollect him, an active business man, seems to me doubtful at least,) he by his last will, after a provision for gravestones, another for the support of his wife during her life, and a small legacy to an adopted daughter, empowered his executor Deacon Spofford, if there was any remainder of his estate, to “give a handsome present to the Church of which he was a member, and the remaining part, if any there be, to give as a present for the support of the school in School-House No. 8.” The Church received under this bequest in May, 1805, \$100,—partly expended in the purchase of a communion service,—still in their possession; and in September, 1809, the Judge of Probate ordered \$233.95, the balance in the hands of the executor, to be paid over to the selectmen of Jaffrey, “agreeable to a special act of the legislature of the state of New Hampshire, passed on the 15th of June last.” This act was passed because no person was mentioned in the will to receive and apply the fund. It is still

held by the selectmen in trust for the benefit of the District.— We are aware that these sums represented much larger values at that time, than like sums do at the present day.

We have come together, with hearts full of thanksgiving to the Great Disposer of Events, that He has permitted us to assemble here, to commemorate the organization of civil institutions and government in our beloved municipal homestead.

But an occasion like this cannot be one of unmixed joy.

“ Time rolls his ceaseless course.”

“ Still it creeps on,
Each little moment at another’s heels,
Till hours, days, years and ages are made up,
Of such small parts as these, and men look back
Worn and bewildered, wondering how it is.”

“ When in this vale of years I backward look,
And miss such numbers, numbers too of such,
Firmer in health and greener in their age,
And stricter on their guard, and fitter far
To play Life’s subtle game, I scarce believe
I still survive.”

Death has removed, not only all the early inhabitants, and many who were familiar with the history of a later date, because principal actors therein, but many who, if less conspicuous, were not less dear to us: and we pause a moment to dwell with a reverential remembrance,— with filial affection,— with devoted love,— on the memory of those whose animated faces would have greeted us at this time, had they been spared to this day. Alas, --for them, time is no more.

The sum of human joys and human sorrows, which have been felt within the limits of this town during the past century, can only be known to Omniscience. The joys have passed, and are passing, with little or no record of their existence. And so of many, perhaps most, of the sorrows. But there is a parcel of ground, of small extent, on the brow of the hill, and adjoining the Common, which contains records reminding us of the sorrows of ourselves and others, which are of a more enduring character.

There rest the remains of my beloved and venerated parents, my father dying at the age of seventy-eight, and my mother living until near ninety-seven. Other fathers and mothers, of like ages, are gathered there, shocks of corn fully ripe, and fit to be garnered; whom we must mourn, but with the consolation that they had done their duty in the community,—had fought the good fight,—had finished their course,—had kept the faith.

But these records tell other tales. There repose the husband and father, the wife and mother, who fell by the wayside, in the meridian of life;—who appeared to have before them years of happiness and usefulness to themselves and others,—upon whom young children were dependent, and to whom friends looked for counsel and for guidance.

Brothers and sisters, young men and maidens, who were just entering upon the threshold of existence, with a life of usefulness and honor and prosperity in anticipation, lie there side by side.

What agonies of grief, suppressed and irrepressible, have rent the hearts of survivors, as the mournful processions have passed within the gate, and consigned the remains of the beloved objects to their places of final rest.

Hallowed be the spot where the dust of the century is gathered together, and around which is clustered a century of the greatest of human sorrows.

Whatever of sadness may be in the retrospect, it is meet that we should celebrate the hundredth anniversary of an organization fraught with so much of usefulness to the persons who have lived within its limits.

We are here on a day that marks an era.

Let us rejoice that this town incorporation will be continued for the benefit and advantage of the generations who are advancing to its possession.

Let us rejoice that we may go onward into the new century, though it be to some of us but for a short period, and to none of us to its close; and that space is yet granted us to do something, not only for the comfort and welfare of those who are dear to us, but of the community around us.

And now, assembled here as the surviving representatives of the first century of our incorporation, and standing just within the threshold of its successor, let us dedicate this new municipal century, in which the town and its in-dwellers are to do service for another hundred years, to the prosecution and extension of every good and beneficent work of its predecessor.

I feel assured that you will join with me when I say:—We dedicate it to the promotion of Religion.

Not a religion which leans upon the State for its support, and depends upon faith without works;—but that religion which sustains the State by the inculcation of truths which lie at the foundation of organized and orderly society, and supports the government by its works. Not that religion which has its greatest regard for forms and ceremonies, and the washing of cups and platters; but that which sanctifies the heart and purifies the life.—Not that religion, if such there be, which enters into embittered controversies about dogmas, and disputes zealously about trifles; but that religion which being first pure, is “then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;” and which teaches the love of God with our whole heart, and the love of our neighbor as of ourselves.

We dedicate it to education and sound learning.

Not that learning which attempts from metaphysical nothings to make up a unit,—the votaries of which, multiplying themselves by themselves, think that they sum up the infinite, and something beyond:—but that learning which leads to the belief, in the language of the arithmetical aphorism of Parson Wigglesworth, of Malden, that

“Naught joyn'd to naught can ne'er make aught.
Nor cyphers make a sum.
Nor finite to the infinite.
By multiplying come.”

Not to that training which leads self-sufficient people to attempt to magnify themselves, by multitudes of projects for making a new world different from, and thus better, than that which God made:—but to a system of education which has due regard to the nature of things, and to the constitution of mankind, and

the ends which the Creator intended they should pursue; and which seeks by measures consistent with creation, as it exists, to perform the whole duty which the Creator requires, in the world as he has made it.

Not to that theory of education which proposing that all persons should be educated up to the utmost limit of which they are capable, becomes a practical and mischievous humbug;—but to that theory which shall provide an education of the highest character for all the members of the community, with reference to the needful discharge of the various employments and duties which must necessarily exist.

Not to that system of education which by “raising the standard,” as it is called, subjects the young to such demands upon their intellect, in the time of their immaturity, as to impair if not destroy the physical powers, and thereby render intellectual acquisitions useless;—but to that system which recognizes the physical as well as the intellectual, and seeks to develop both according to their necessities,—and this not by subjecting first the one and then the other to an extraordinary strain, but by a moderation that shall be known in all things.

Not to that education which casts odium upon labor, and induces young men and women to endeavor to escape from its wholesome, invigorating influences, by a resort to cities for the purpose of begging for a situation, where ease shall lead to poverty; or which seeks, through political partisanship, for some petty clerkship under Government, leaving the successful incumbent without occupation, or the means of an honest livelihood, when the office falls into the hands of the next eager aspirant, who has pushed him from his official stool; but that education which dignifies labor, and seeks to improve its modes of action,—which qualifies the recipient to occupy his place in life, whatever it may be, and with cheerfulness and alacrity to do the duty which the State and the community demand of him.

May I add a constitutional provision.

Not to that learning which endangers the compromises of the Constitution by attempts to maintain that the United States were a Nation before they were States, and that the Constitution was

formed by that Nation ;— nor that other learning which would make shipwreck of Constitutional rights and safeguards, by theories which sophistically give to the War Powers of the President and Congress a predominance over Constitutional guaranties,— but that learning which accepting the undisputed facts of history, arrives at the conclusion that the Constitution was adopted by the several peoples of the different States, whereby the peoples of those States became a Nation for the purposes manifested by it,— and that the war powers, designed to preserve, cannot be rightfully exercised to destroy, the liberties of the people.

We dedicate it to Philanthropy and Charity.

Not to that philanthropy which consists in words and eschews works ; not to that charity which, beginning at home, ends in the same spot ; nor that charity which does hope things are not quite so bad as they are reported, but is fearful that they may be worse ;— but to that philanthropy which does the deeds of the Good Samaritan, and which is open-hearted and open-handed within the limits of prudence ; and to that charity which sufferereth long and is kind, which envieth not, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, hopeth all things, and endureth all things.

We dedicate it to Ambition.

Not that ambition which seeks a seat in Congress by bribery, or any other seat by the petty arts of the partisan politician ;— but that ambition described by Lord Mansfield, when he said,— “I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after ; it is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means.”

We dedicate it to rational Amusement.

Not to the games or pursuits which blunt the conscience, deprave the habits, enervate the mind, and vitiate the taste ;— but to the recreations which solace from care, stimulate the fancy, develop the muscle, sustain the nerves, and give, through so-

cial intercourse, a relaxation from toil, a kindly regard for our neighbors, and courtesy to our associates, whether within or without the township.

We dedicate it to the wise and just exercise of all the political and municipal Rights conferred upon the Town; and to the faithful discharge of all corresponding Duties.

Finally, as the sum of all, we dedicate it to Human Happiness, and the Glory of God.

And may His blessing rest upon it, and hallow it, from its commencement to its termination.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE TO PAGE 7.—A portion of Jaffrey was included in the original location of Peterborough.

The township of Peterborough was granted by Massachusetts, to inhabitants of that Colony, with power to the grantees to select the particular location. Under the erroneous supposition that the line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was that claimed by the former, the grantees made their location beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and embraced within their “six miles square” a large portion of the valley between the base of the mountain on the east, (now known as Peterboro’ mountain), and the Monadnock.

When it was ascertained that the location was within New Hampshire, and fell within the purchase of the Masonian Proprietors, Jos. Blanchard, as their agent, cut off a range and a half on the western side, in order to provide for a tier of townships east of the Monadnock, and the portion thus cut off was included in Monadnock Nos. 2 & 3, (Jaffrey and Dublin).

The Masonian Proprietors not only released the residue of the township to the grantees under Massachusetts, but gave them, to make up their quantity, a strip of land on the East, of equal extent to that taken off on the West. This however, being on the eastern mountain, was comparatively worthless.—The grantees of Peterboro’, in grateful recognition of the kindness of the Masonian Proprietors in confirming so much of their invalid title, and in giving them an addition to make up their quantity, gave the Proprietors several lots in the township,—but they took care to locate them all in the new addition, on the east!—

Ex relatione Dr. Albert Smith.

APPENDIX B.

NOTE TO PAGE 16.—Something more may be said upon this subject, and as I have no wish to recur to it again, I add here:

The compact made on board the Mayflower, which furnished the foundation of the first Town organization,—at Plymouth,

was "occasioned, partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches of some of the strangers" on board the ship, and partly by the reason that "such an act by them done, (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." The matters which "occasioned" the compact had, therefore, no particular relation to the church polity.—It recited that they were loyal subjects of King James, that they had undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of their King and country, a voyage to plant a Colony,—and by it they combined themselves together, into a civil body politic, for the better promotion of those ends, and by virtue of it, "to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony."

There is nothing, either in the reasons given for the act, or in the purposes of the expedition as recited, or in the agreement actually executed, which indicates that it was derived from the church organization,—or which in any way refers to the Congregational polity, or to any particular administration of church government,—and this, taken with the statements which are contained in it, tends to show that the town organization in Plymouth, which arose from it, was not even suggested by the clerical.

Quite consistently with this origin of the Town organization, there might have been a different church polity previously, and any church polity which the signers pleased, might have been adopted afterwards. The church polity of the same people, had, as a matter of course, a similar foundation, that of self-government,—but that fact did not of itself originate or give rise to the civil polity. It only accompanied it, each acting within its own sphere.

This organization of Plymouth became substantially a State, as well as a town. But the State was for the purpose of general government, and did not derive its ideal from the church; and when, by reason of the extension of the settlements, other towns were organized, it was for the purpose of ordering and manag-

ing their local affairs,—the support of religious teachers, along with the making and mending of highways,—the support of schools,—the preservation of the peace, through the instrumentality of the constable,—and the prevention of trespass by cattle, through the institution of pounds.

The principle of self-government upon which the original settlement was founded, and upon which in reference to their local affairs, the Towns were afterwards organized, was not only a fundamental principle with the emigrants, but was a necessity under the circumstances attending the emigration. No one had authority to rule,—there were no means of government except by agreement, or force,—and they agreed upon a government for themselves, to be administered by themselves. It must have been the same if no church had then been organized among them. The same principle operated in regard to the church.—When the people broke from the authority of the bishops there was no authority in ecclesiastical matters, except their own, and thus Congregationalism came into existence.

It may be said, (and it seems to be the only *argument* which can be used in favor of the position), that the principles of the churches “led to this form of government,”—that the church organization was first, and that the Town coming after, adopted the same principle of self-government. To this “*Post hoc, sed non propter hoc*,”—*after*, but not *by reason* of the church organization, is a sufficient reply. There must be something more than this, to sustain the assertion that “it was a Congregational Church meeting, that first suggested the idea of a New England Town meeting.”

Meetings of subscribers to the Compact made on board the Mayflower, grew out of the Compact itself.

A P P E N D I X C.

NOTE TO PAGE 30.—Attempts to manufacture cotton, by machinery, were made in this country as early as 1787, and in subsequent years in that century. The machinery was imperfect and the results, of course, unsatisfactory. The first mill, in New

Hampshire, was established in 1804, in New Ipswich. The first cotton mill in Peterboro' was incorporated 1808. It spun and sold yarn, but for years manufactured no cloth.—For these dates I am indebted to a small volume entitled, "Introduction and Early progress of the cotton manufacture in the United States," written by Samuel Batchelder, Esq., a native of Jaffrey, and published in 1863. Prior to the manufacture of cloth here, the cheaper cotton cloth, in the market, was a sleasy fabric, manufactured in India and England,—the latter heavily starched, to conceal its flimsy texture.

Enquiries in several directions enable me to add some information respecting the manufacture of Woollens.

It appears that a mill, a fulling mill I presume, was erected at Rowley, Mass., as early as 1643, but machinery for carding, spinning, and weaving was of a much later date. Carding machines were introduced into this country about 1794,—into New Ipswich in 1801, and probably soon after into this town. They had then been known in England twenty or thirty years. Some of the first carding machinery used in this country was shipped from England, as hardware, being exported contrary to the laws in force there. See Bulletin of Wool Manufacturers, April—June, 1873, page 193. Article by S. B.

T. Clapp, Agt., Pontoosuc Woollen Mill, Pittsfield, Mass., writes under date of October 9th, that Arthur Schofield started his first carding machine there in 1801;—that the first broad-cloth made in this country was made by him, in that town, in 1804,—and that "in 1808 Schofield manufactured thirteen yards of black broadcloth, which was presented to President Madison, from which his inaugural suit was made. Fine merino sheep were introduced about this time into this town, and Schofield was able to select wool enough to make this single piece, and President Madison was the first President who was inaugurated in American broadcloth."

An extended, and very interesting, article on the subject, appears in the Boston Commercial Bulletin, of Nov. 15th, (as these sheets are passing through the press), which states that Arthur

and John Schofield came to this country from England in 1793, and took up their residence in Charlestown,—that after looking around a few weeks they determined to make a start in the manufacture of woolen cloth by hand,—that John built the first machinery himself, and having completed “a hand loom, spinning jenny, &c., on the 28th of October he sold the first product of this loom, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of broadcloth [?] for £16—16s., and 20 yards of mixed broadcloth for £12;”—that they removed to Newburyport in that year, for the purpose of starting a factory with improved machinery, and built a carding machine, which was first put together in a room in *Lord Timothy Dexter's* stable, and then operated by hand, for the purpose of showing its operation. “This was in the year 1794, and was the first carding machine for wool made in the United States; and at this place were made the first spinning rolls carded by machinery.”

A factory was started by them, and others, in Byfield, in 1795. A single carding machine and two double ones were placed in it. “A coarse kind of flannel called baize” was woven. What other cloth was manufactured is not stated.

They established a factory at Montville, in Conn., about 1798.

It appears further that in 1801, Arthur, having removed to Pittsfield, had a carding machine there,—advertised for wool to card,—and built carding machines for other persons.

It is then stated, “The first broadcloth made by Arthur Schofield after his arrival in Pittsfield was in 1804. The cloth was a gray mixed, and when finished, was shown to different merchants, and offered for sale but could find no purchasers in the village. A few weeks subsequently, Josiah Bissell, a leading merchant in town, made a voyage to New York, for the purpose of buying goods, and brought home two pieces of Schofield's cloths, which was purchased for the foreign article. Schofield was sent for to test the quality, and soon exhibited to the merchant his private marks on the same cloth which he had before rejected.”

Then comes the statement respecting the manufacture of broadcloth in 1808, which President Madison wore when inaugurated.

Considering all these statements the reasonable conclusion appears to be, that the first *broadcloth* manufactured in this coun-

try was made in 1804, by Arthur Schofield, as stated by Mr. Clapp. It seems improbable that the cloth manufactured in Charlestown in 1794 could have been *broadcloth*.

At the period of which I speak, wool was carded partly by hand, but the carding machines generally turned out the rolls, which were spun upon the domestic great wheel, and woven in the loom, like the cotton, and then fulled and dressed by the clothier.

The great wheel and the loom have disappeared before their gigantic competitors; and the linen wheel, which spun the flax,—humble little machine,—has gone along with its larger companions, although large linen manufactures have not succeeded in establishing themselves here to any great extent.—The preparation of the ground, the seed and the sowing,—the pulling, rotting, breaking, swingling and hatchelling of the flax,—with the spinning and weaving superadded,—involved too great an amount of labor for a successful competition with the foreign manufacturer, as soon as the profit from other branches enabled the farmer to purchase the foreign article, manufactured where labor is so much cheaper.—Besides, the manufacture of cotton cloth, by machinery, reduced the cost of that, so that it superseded the use of linen, in a very great degree.



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